[MIRROR] 029

BARBARA W. TUCHMAN

THE GUNS OF AUGUST

八月炮火

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译者_ 张岱云 等

上海三联书店

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CONTENTS

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□4□ □□□□□
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□5□ 8□1□□□□
□6□ 8□1□□□□□□□
□7□ □□□□□□□□□□□□
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□14□ “□□□□□□”
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1940 · Lester Tuchman “ ” 1940 1950 *Bible and Sword* 1954 *The Zimmermann Telegram* 1958 1917

The Proud Tower 1911—1945 *Stilwell and the American Experience in*

China[illegible]*1911-45*[illegible]*A Distant Mirror*[illegible]*The March of Folly*[illegible]*The First Salute*[illegible]*Practicing History*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]13[illegible]Magna Carta[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]“1914[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Arthur Zimmermann[illegible]

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[illegible]Macmillan[illegible]·[illegible]Cecil Scott[illegible]Mons[illegible]1914[illegible]

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[illegible]Lemberg[illegible]Drina[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible]17[illegible]

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[illegible]Bismarck[illegible][2][illegible]Tirpitz[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Eckhardstein[illegible]1902[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Cambon[illegible]·[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1888[illegible]

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[1] [illegible]Fashoda[illegible]Kodok[illegible]1898[illegible]——[illegible]

[2] [illegible]Machiavelli[illegible]1469—1527[illegible]——[illegible]

[3] [illegible]Heinrich Gotthard von Treitschke[illegible]1834—1896[illegible]19[illegible]1886[illegible]——[illegible]

[4] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[5] [illegible]Reval[illegible]——[illegible]

[6] [illegible]·[illegible]Norman Angell[illegible]1872—1967[illegible]1905—1912[illegible]1928—1931[illegible]1929—1931[illegible]1933[illegible]——[illegible]

Accounts of the funeral, besides those in the daily press and in memoirs of the period, appear in *The Queen, The Sphere*, and *The Graphic* for May 21, 1910; “The Meeting of Nine Kings” by William Bayard Hale in *World's Work* for July 1910; “An Impression of the King's Funeral” by Mary King Waddington in *Scribner's* for October 1910; Theodore Roosevelt to David Grey, October 5, 1911, *Letters*, ed. E. E. Morison (Harvard U.P., 1951–54), VII, 409–13.

“□□□□□□”□*The Times*, May 21, 1910.

“□□□□□□□□□”□to Bülow, qtd. Ludwig, 427.

“□□□□□”□Zedlitz-Trützschler, 177–8. The German press also represented Edward's tour as “having the sole object of forming an alliance against Germany.” Lascelles to Grey, April 19, 1907, BD, VI, No. 15.

“□□□□□□□□”□Roosevelt to Trevelyan, October 1, 1911, *Letters*, VII, 397.

“□□□□”□Lee, I, 477–8.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Roosevelt to Grey, *op. cit.*, 409–10. His Byzantine regalia: Sazonov, 230.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Cust, 111, 249.

“□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Maurois, 44.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Lee, II, 11.

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□□□□□□□□□□□□Paléologue, *Un Prélude*, 494–5.

□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Roosevelt to Trevelyan, *Letters*, VII, 396.

□□□□□□□□Bülow, II, 355; Benson, 248.

□□□□□“□□□□……”□Bernhardi, 81.

□□□□□□□□□□Bülow, I, 418.

“□□□□”□Hans Delbruck, professor of history at University of Berlin and Germany's leading military historian, qtd. Wile, *Men Around the Kaiser*, 119–22.

“□□□□□□□□”□*Neue Freie Presse*, April 15, 1907, qtd. Lee, II, 542.

□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□qtd. Bruun, 116.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Goschen to Grey, August 29, 1908, BD, VI, No. 100; Steed, I, 287.

□□□□“□□□”□Lee, II, 587.

“□□□□□□□”□Witte, 189.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Fisher, *Memories*, 234.

□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□The Kaiser expressed this opinion to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, at Queen Victoria's funeral, qtd. Newton, 199.

“□□□□□□□”□Benson, 45.

“□□□□□□□□”□October 25, 1895, *Willy-Nicky Letters*, 23.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Botkin, 103.

□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Ludwig, 263.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Maurois, 256.

□□□□□□□Crown Prince, 98–100.

□□□□□□□□□□□□“Modern War and Peace” and “La guerre et la paix” in Esher, *Essays*, 211–28 and 229–61.

□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□bid., 224. Esher gave copies to the Kaiser, *ibid.*, 55.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hindenburg, 59. Quotations for Bernhardi's book are from Chapters I, II, IV, V, IX, and X.

□□□□□□□□quotations from Isvolsky and *Le Figaro* and details of mourning in Paris, Tokyo, and Berlin are from *The Times*, May 8, 1910.

□□□□□□□□□□□*The Times*, May 20, 1910.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kaiser's *Memoirs*, 129.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Arthur, *George V*, 125.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Trevelyan, 172.

□□□□□□□□□□□Kaiser's *Memoirs*, 131.

“□□□□□□□”□*The Times*, May 21, 1910.

□□·□□□□□□*ibid*.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Arthur, *George V*, 126. Her letter to George: Nicolson, *George V*, 40.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Esher, *Journals*, III, 4.

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[illegible]Junker[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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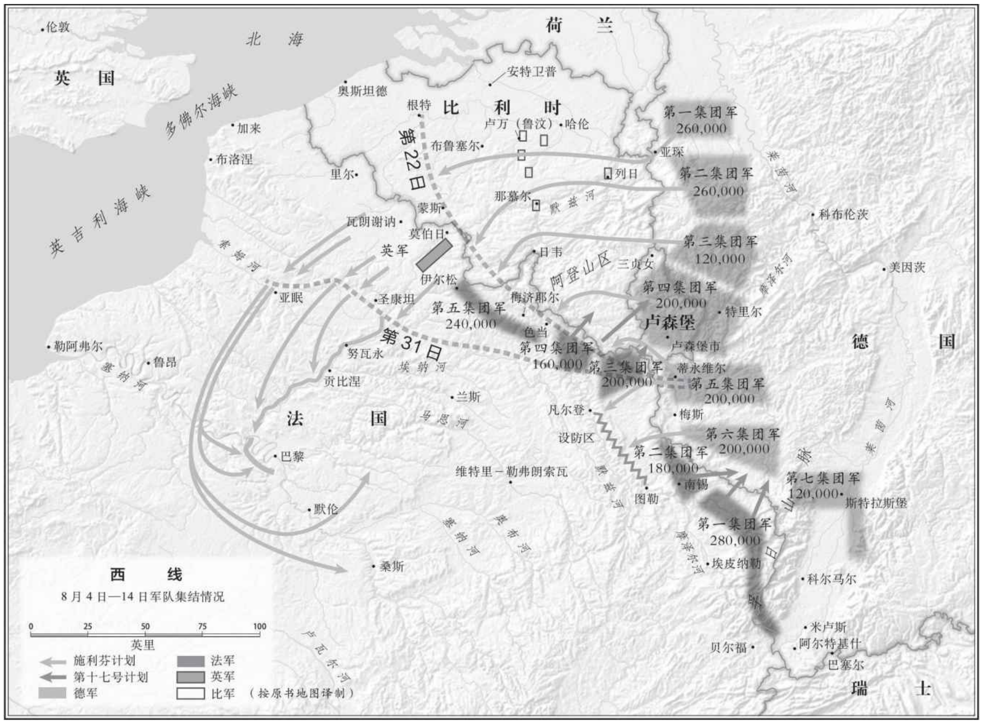

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“□□□□□”□qtd. Buchan, I, 118.

“□□□□□□□□”□Goerlitz, 129.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Schlieffen's Memorandum of 1912, Ritter, 172.

□□□□□□Schlieffen's Memoranda for 1892 and 1912 in Ritter; Schlieffen's *Cannae*, Kuhl's *Generalstab*, Förster.

“□□□□□□”□qtd. by Schlieffen, Ritter, 172.

“□□□□□□”□Schlieffen, *Cannae*, 4.

□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Wile, *Men Around the Kaiser*, 222.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Santayana, 69.

□□□□□□□□□□□Foerster, 21.

□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□*Erinnerungen*.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□General von Hahnke's notes on Schlieffen's Memorandum of 1912, Ritter, 186.

“□□□□□□”□Clausewitz, III, 209–10.

“□□□□□□□”□General Percin in article in *Ere Nouvelle*, January 1925, qtd. Ponsonby, 55–6.

□□□□□□□□□□Bülow, II, 88.

□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□Roosevelt to Trevelyan, October 1, 1911, *Letters*, VII, 369.

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200□□□□J. V. Bredt, *Die Belgische Neutralität und der Schlieffensche Feldzugsplan*, qtd. AQ, July, 1929, 289.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Dupont, 23.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□the diplomat was Richard von Kuhlmann, then counselor of the German Embassy in London, later, in 1917, Foreign Secretary, qtd. Cammaerts, 134.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Memorandum of 1912, Ritter, 175.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid*.

“□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Rosinsky, 137.

□□□□□□□□□□□Ritter, 161–4.

□□□□□□□□□Isaac, *Reserves*, 335; Foerster, 71.

“□□□□□□”□Foerster, 70.

“□□□□□□□□□”□*Erinnerungen*.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Tappen, 92.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Cambon (French ambassador in Berlin) to Foreign Minister Pichon, May 6, 1913, *French Yellow Book No*. 3.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Tirpitz, I, 343.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Conrad, III, 670.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Eckhardstein, *Lebenserinnerungen*, Vol. III, *Die Isolierung Deutschlands*, Leipzig, 1921, 184.

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1913[illegible]Lebas[illegible]de Castelnau[illegible]10[illegible]40[illegible]

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1871[illegible]Bordeaux[illegible]“[illegible]”

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[illegible]1870[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]1899[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1911[illegible]6[illegible]30[illegible]Agadir[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]Pyrénées[illegible]Timbuktu[illegible]1900[illegible]1905[illegible]1905[illegible]1908[illegible]1910[illegible]

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[1] [illegible]Georges Ernest Boulanger[illegible]1837—1891[illegible]1856[illegible]1886—1887[illegible]1889[illegible]——[illegible]

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[3] [illegible]Charles de Baatz[illegible]seigneur d'Artagnan[illegible]1611—1673[illegible]——[illegible]

Official sources for Plan 17 and its predecessors are *AF*, Tome I, Vol. I, Chaps. 1 and 2 and Joffre, 45–112. Text of the general directive and of the

deployment orders to the several armies is No. 8 in Annexes to *AF*, I, I. The leading critics of the Plan are Engerand, General Grouard, and General Percin; the last, being blamed for the evacuation of Lille in August 1914, had a personal ax to grind.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Briey, session of May 23, evidence of M. Vendame, deputy of Lille, who accompanied Lebas; session of July 4, evidence of General Lebas.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Col. Grandmaison had worked it out at 6 to 8 km. per army corps. Engerand, 431.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Alexandre Zevaes, *Histoire de la Troisième République*, Paris, 1926, 41.

□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Huddleston, 36.

□□□“□□□□□□□□”□Zevaes, *op. cit.*, 41.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Monteil, 38.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Craig, in Earle's *Modern Strategy*, 276.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Pierre de la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, VII, 343.

□□□□□□□□the quotations and episode of Clemenceau and Foch are from “Du Picq and Foch” by Stefan T. Possony and Etienne Manteux, Chap. 9 in Earle's *Modern Strategy*.

□□□□□□□□Lanrezac, 138, n. 1; Messimy, 72; John Bowditch, “The Concept of Elan Vital,” in Earle's *Modern France*, 39–43.

□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 30.

1913□□□□□□□□□□□□Drafted by a committee of which General Pau was chairman and which included Hély d'Oissel, later Chief of Staff of the Fifth Army, and Berthelot, later deputy chief of staff under Joffre at GQG. Published as a decree signed by Poincaré on October 28, 1913. Text in Engerand, 445–7.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Engerand, 592.

□□□□□□1911□□□□□□□*AF*, I, I, 13–14; text of his report is in Annexes to this volume, No. 3, 7–11. Discussion of use of reserves in the front line from

Proceedings of the Supreme War Council, July 19, 1911, is Annexe No. 4, 12–17.

“□□□□□□□”□Spears, 218.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 61.

“□□□□□□”□Percin, 206.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Messimy, 15. “Incapable of leading their troops”: *ibid.*, 93. “Hesitant, indecisive”: *ibid.*, 75.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Briey, May 13, 23, and 30, evidence of Michel, Percin, and Messimy; Messimy, *Souvenirs*, 76–8; *AF*, I, I, 13–14.

□□□□□□□“□□”□□□In 1870 the Turco regiments under the command of General Charles Bourbaki inspired a marching song with these words:

> Le chic exquis
> Dont les cœurs sont conquis
> Ils le doivent *à* qui?
> A Charles Bourbaki.

qtd. De Gaulle, 162.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Briey, May 13, evidence of General Michel.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□qtd. Messimy, 118–20.

“□□□□□□”□Percin, 208.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Messimy, 77.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Briey, May 23, evidence of Percin.

□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 12.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Messimy, 78.

“□□□□□”□Briey, May 23, evidence of Percin.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Demazes, 65.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Foch, *Memoirs*, lxii.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Grouard, 5, n. 2.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 69.

“□□□□”□Joffre, 17.

1904□□□□□□□□□□□Paléologue, *Un Prélude*, 486–88.

□□□□□□□*ibid.*, 514.

“□□□□□”□Joffre, 63.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Giraud, 25–29.

□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□Joffre, 64.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“It was known that the German plan of mobilization predicated that ‘troops of the reserve will be used as active troops,' ” *AF*, I, I, 39. The critique by Moltke is from Isaac, *Reserves*, 335, who also states that a French analysis made in May 1914 of the German mobilization plan for that year showed the role of reserves as identical with that of the active units. This is confirmed by Joffre in his discussion of the problem, 145–7. Major Melotte's report is from Galet, 22. Joffre (61) is the authority for the belief that the Germans would use reserves only as second-line troops.

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]from his *Cahiers de la quinzaine*, October 22, 1905, reprinted in his *Notre Patrie*, Paris, 1915, 117–18.

[illegible]1905[illegible]Robertson, *Private to Field Marshal*, 140; *Soldiers and Statesmen*, I, 24.

[illegible]—[illegible]Repington, 6–10.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Haldane, 198.

[illegible]1906[illegible]Grey, I, 72–88; Haldane, 203–04; *Before the War*, 186; BD, III, 212.

[illegible]—[illegible]Maurois, 129.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Grey, I, 85.

□□□□□□□□Grey, I, 76.

“□□□□”□Campbell-Bannerman's phrase, qtd. Repington, 10.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Tyler, John E., *The British Army and the Continent, 1904–14*, London, 1938, 46.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Esher, *Journals*, I, 375–6.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Letters*, III, 47; opinions of army strategy: Bacon, II, 182–3.

□□□□□□□□□□□Wilson, 51; spoke French: *ibid.*, 2.

“□□□□”□qtd. *AQ*, July 1929, 287.

□□□□□□□□Wilson, 78.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 79–80.

“□□□□”□□□□Aston, *Foch*, 129.

□□□□□“‘□’□□□”□Wilson, 79.

“□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 78.

“□□□□□”□Huguet, 21.

□□“□□□□□□□□□”□Liddell Hart, *Foch*, 51: in a letter to the British military attaché, Colonel Fairholme, Foch stated his belief that the principal front would be Epinal to Namur, BD, VI, No. 460.

□□□□□□□□□□□Wilson, 97–8.

□□□□□□□□□□□□AF, I, I, 17–18; BD, VII, No. 640.

“□□□□”□“□□□□”□Huguet, 8.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Wilson, 99.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Wilson, 99–102; Churchill, 55–9; Haldane, 226.

“□□□□□□□□□”□letter of April 28, 1912, *Letters*, II, 456.

“□□□□□□”□Wilson, 106.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Haldane, *Before the War*, 183.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Esher, *Journals*, III, 61.

□□□□□□□□□□□□254–262, 292; *Before the War*, 72–86.

□□□□□□□□□□□Churchill, 115–16.

□□□□□□□□□□□Grey, I, 97–8.

“□□□□”□Wilson, 113.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*ibid*., 105; Wilson laid a piece of map: *ibid*.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 50. Haldane put the total number at 160,000: *Before the War*, 189.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□BD, III, No. 217ff; Bridges (then military attaché in Brussels), 62–63.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Huguet, 18; Joffre, 54. Cambon's condition: Dupont, 25.

“W□□”□□□□□Wilson, 149.

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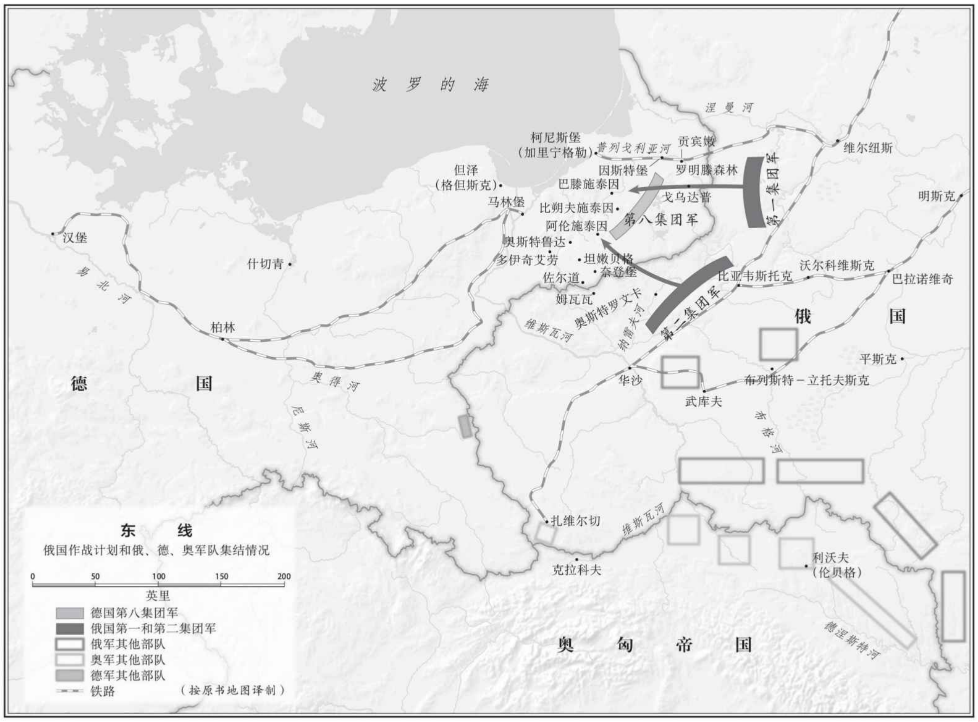

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[6] [illegible]Tannenberg[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Stebark[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]When a German regiment in 1914 learned it was going to the western not the eastern front, there was “general rejoicing. For some indefinable reason the very thought of Russia gave one a shudder.” Bloem, 20. The same thought moved a German army doctor to complain to the Duchess of

Sutherland (49) how wicked it was of England to join the alliance against Germany “and leave us to those devilish Russians.”

□□□□□these and other figures about men and matériel in this chapter are from Golovin's *Army* unless otherwise noted.

□□□□□□□□□Grey to Sir F. Bertie, May 1, 1914, BD, X, Part 2, No. 541.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Messimy, 179–81; Kokovtsov, 370–72; Joffre, 55–60; Golovin, *Campaign*, Chapter III, 45–73.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 23.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Golovin, *Campaign*, 61.

1912—1913□□□□□□□□□□□□Agourtine, 25.

□□·□□□□□□□□Hamilton, General Sir Ian, *A Staff Officer's Scrap Book*, London, 1907, II, 381.

“□□□□□□□□”□Knox, xxvii.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Witte, 270, 247.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□A few days before his 22nd birthday, on April 28, 1890, Nicholas wrote in his diary, “Today I finished definitely and forever my education.” qtd. Radziwill, *Nicholas II*, 210.

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□□□□□□□□□□□□Wrangel, 208.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Witte, 319.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Paléologue, *Intimate Journal of the Dreyfus Case*, New York, 1957, 180.

“□□□□□□□□”□Witte, 190.

□□□□□□Sir Arthur Nicolson, British ambassador to Russia, 1906–10. Nicolson, *Diplomatist*, 180.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Sazonov, 286.

“□□□□□□□□”□Golovin, *Campaign*, 31, 34.

□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Paléologue, 83; Poincaré (III, 163) had the same reaction.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Agourtine, 18–22; Vladimir Gurko, 552–3; Knox, 222; Sir Bernard Pares, *A History of Russia*, New York, 1953, 472–77.

□□□□□□□□□□□Agourtine, 56–9.

“□□□□□□”□qtd. Agourtine, 59.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□a facsimile of the autograph of the Kaiser is reproduced in Ludwig, 508.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Knox, obituary of Sukhomlinov in *Slavonic Review*, 1926, Vol. 5, 148; also Golovin, *Army*, 12, 32, 43.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Danilov, 150; Golovin, *Campaign*, 35.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□Introduction to *Letters of Tsaritsa*, xxi.

“□□□□□□□□”□*Letters to Tsar*, June 16, 1915, 97.

□□□□□□□□□□□Esher, *Tragedy*, 19.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Danilov, 43.

“□□□□□”□Paléologue, 22–23.

□□□□□□□□□□□Ironside, 31–6.

□□□□□□according to Danilov, Deputy Chief of Staff (130), this was the fundamental idea and goal of the Russian High Command throughout the “first period” of the war.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Ellen M. Pain. *My Impressions of East Prussia*, London, 1915.

□□□□□□□□□Topham, 254. Her Chapter XIII, “Rominten,” is brilliant reporting of the Imperial habits.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Hoffmann, *War of Lost Opportunities*, 5.

□□□□□□□□□□□K. F. Nowak, Introduction to Hoffmann's *War Diaries*, I, 10, 18.

“□□□□□□□□”□recorded by the American correspondent Frederick Palmer, qtd. De Weerd, 71.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hoffmann, *War of Lost Opportunities*, 4.

“□□□□□□”□qtd. Hoffmann, *Diaries*, II, 241.

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“[illegible]”[illegible]recalled by Albert Ballin, who quoted it to Churchill (207) in July 1914 when Ballin was sent to London by the Kaiser to persuade the British to stay neutral.

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]in the Vienna Town Hall, September 21, 1910, qtd. Stanley Shaw, *William of Germany*, New York, Macmillan, 1913, 329.

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Bethmann-Hollweg to von Tschirschky (German ambassador in Vienna), Kautsky, No. 15; Kaiser to Emperor Franz Joseph, Kautsky, No. 26.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Kaiser's marginal note on copy of Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, Kautsky, No. 271.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Bethmann-Hollweg to Pourtales, Kautsky, No. 490.

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The central episode in this chapter, General Moltke's traumatic experience with the Kaiser on the night of August 1, is based on Moltke's memoirs, 19–23. All quotations from the Kaiser and Moltke himself during the course of this incident are from this source. An English version was published by *Living Age*, January 20, 1923, 131–34.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kautsky, No. 542.

5□30□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□□□The American correspondent, Frederic William Wile, on his way to the Foreign Office, saw the two ministers as they came out: *Assault*, 82.

“□□□□□□□□”□Sturgkh, 232.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kautsky, Nos. 474 and 521. Eggeling's insistence up to the last moment that Russia could not fight because of artillery and transport deficiencies is reported by Kuhl, 31.

“□□□□□□”□Kautsky, No. 474.

□□□□□□□□□□Wile, *Assault*, 81–2; the Belgian ambassador also describes the scene: Beyens, II, 266.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Kautsky, No. 553.

□□□□□□□□Wolff, 504.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hanssen, 22–23.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Reichsarchiv, *Das Deutsche Feldeisenbahnwesen*, Band I, *Die Eisenbahnen zu Kriegsbeginn*, qtd. *AQ*, April 1928, 96–101.

□□□□□□□□□□Fisher, *Memories*, 230.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kautsky, Nos. 368 and 596.

“□□□□□”□Written on margin of Pourtales's dispatch, received July 30 at 7:00 A.M. reporting that Russian mobilization could not be canceled, Kautsky, No. 401, English version, Ludwig, 448.

□□□□□□□The alleged proposal by an anonymous “close associate” of Bethmann's is reported by Radziwill, *Sovereigns*, 70, a not too reliable source.

□□□□□□□□□□□Schoen, 192, 197; Messimy, 149.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 251.

“□□□□□”□Wolff, 504.

□□□□□□□□□□Kautsky, No. 562.

1911□□□□□□□□□□Given by Sir E. Goschen, the British ambassador, in honor of Major-General Wilson, Wilson, 94.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lichnowsky, 73–74; Grey to Goschen, *British Blue Book*, No. 123; Grey, II, Appendix F, “The Suggestions of August 1, 1914.”

“□□□□□”□Sturgkh, 24.

□□□□□□□□□Freytag-Loringhoven, 135–7; Bauer, 33; Goerlitz, 143; General Sir Edmund Ironside, “Two Chiefs of General Staff,” *Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1926; Wile, NYT, October 6, 1914, 2:6.

“□□□□□□□□”□*Erinnerungen*, 307; “Place ourselves under Japan”: qtd. Ironside, *op. cit.*, 229; “Quite brutally” about Peking: *Eninnerungen*, 308; “Win the big prize twice”: *ibid*.

“□□□□□□”□Neame, 2. Elder Moltke's use of railroads, Rosinski, 129.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*AQ*, April 1928, 96.

□·□□□□□□His book, *Aufmarsch nach zwei Fronten*, is analyzed by Commandant Koeltz, “La Concentration allemande et l'incident du premier Août, 1914,” *Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre*, 1926, 117–130.

□□□□□□□□□*Erzberger's Erlebnisse*, qtd. *AQ*, April, 1922, 80.

□□□□□□□□Kautsky, Nos. 578 and 579; to Paris: No. 587; to King George: No. 575.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kautsky, No. 603. King George's reply to the Kaiser saying “There must be some mistake,” No. 612.

□□“□□□”□Luxembourg Minister of State Eyschen to Jagow, Kautsky, No. 602; Buch, German minister to Luxembourg, to Foreign Office, No. 619; Bethmann-Hollweg to Government of Luxembourg, No. 640.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Sazonov, 213; Paléologue, 48; Pourtalès's report, Kautsky, No. 588.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Tirpitz, I, 363–5. The scene is also described by Bülow (III, 187) as told him by Albert Ballin, who was present. Bethmann was pacing up and down while *Geheimrat* Kriege, a conscientious jurist of the Foreign Office, was searching through all the lawbooks for a model. “From time to time the agitated Bethmann would ask him, ‘Is that declaration of war on Russia ready yet? I must have my declaration at once!’ Ballin asked, ‘Why such haste to declare war on Russia, Your Excellency?’ and Bethmann answered, ‘If I don't, we shan't get the Socialists to fight.' ”

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bethmann to Tschirschky, marked “Urgent,” Kautsky, No. 441.

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[1] [illegible]Cyrano de Bergerac[illegible]Edmond Rostand[illegible]1868—1918[illegible]——[illegible]

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[3] [illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Joffre, 133.

[illegible]Orders of the War Ministry for the withdrawal are Nos. 22, 25, 26, and 27 in *Annexes* to *AF*, I, I.

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Viviani, 194–5.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Annexe No. 25.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 123–5; Messimy, 139–50.

“□□□□”□Viviani, 195.

“□□□8□□□□□□”□Messimy, 183. The premier's nerves were also remarked on by Bertie, 5.

□□□□“□□”□Messimy, 156.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 1.

□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□Messimy, 138.

“□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 140.

“□□□□□□”□Messimy, 144.

□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□Poincaré, II, 242. “No interest to Great Britain”: *ibid.*, 264.

“□□”□Messimy, 147–8; de Gaulle, 237; Renouvin, 13, 27–8.

□□□□□□“□□□□”□Poincaré, II, 272.

□□□□□□□□□□text in *Livre Jaune, l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, 1918, 92; also in Joffre, 102. Over the years from 1892 to 1914 the Alliance was the subject of continuing discussion between the contracting parties, especially as to the exact interpretation of its *casus foederis*, and it became gradually encrusted with layers of *aides-mémoires*. According to various English translations, France was obligated to “attack,” to “oppose,” or to “fight” Germany. In the French text the word is *“attaquer.”* For Poincaré's interpretation, see II, 289.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Messimy, 183–4.

□□□□“□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 149.

□·□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, II, 265; Schoen's report of Viviani's reply, Kautsky, No. 571.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□*AF*, Annexe No. 26.

□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□Joffre, 129, n. 3.

□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 128; Messimy, 150.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Adam, 20; Gibbons, 73; Guard, 9; Wharton, 14.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Wharton, 10.

“□□□□□□”□Bertie, I, 6–7.

□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, II, 264.

□□□□□□□“Throughout the whole of this week I had in view the probable contingency that we should not decide at the critical moment to support France. In that event I should have to resign.” Grey, II, 312.

□□“□□□□”□Lichnowsky to Jagow, April 13, 1913, qtd. Halévy, 627.

“□□□□□□□□”□Grey, I, 299.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Morley, 4, 5, 10.

□□□□□□Addison, 32.

□□□□□□□□□□by Owen Seaman, *Punch*, August 5, 122.

□□·□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Halévy, 547.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*ibid.*, 548.

□□□□□□□Corbett, 25–30; Churchill, 230ff. Subsequent material on Churchill's role in the crisis and mobilization of the Fleet is from his Chapter IX, “The Crisis,” and Chapter X, “Mobilization of the Navy.”

“□□□□□”□L. J. Maxse, “Retrospect and Reminiscence,” *National Review*, Vol. LXXI, 746.

“□□□□□□□□”□“□□□□”□Morley, 24.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Asquith, II, 7.

7□31□□□□□□□□□□Morley, 2.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 3.

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□□□□□□Chamberlain, 94–101; Wilson, 154.

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“□□□□□”□Beaverbrook, 15–16.

□□·□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Nicolson, *Diplomatist*, 304.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 304–5.

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[2] [illegible]Charles the Bold of Burgundy[illegible]1433—1477[illegible]——[illegible]

[3] [illegible]Marlborough[illegible]1650—1722[illegible]17[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]1702[illegible]1709[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]Jagow to Below, July 29 and August 2, marked “Urgent and Secret,” Kautsky, Nos. 375 and 648.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Whitlock, 3.

[illegible]Bassompierre, 15–16.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid*.

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□□□□□□Bassompierre, 17; remainder of paragraph and further account of government discussions of ultimatum are from Bassompierre unless otherwise noted.

□□□□□□□Gibson, 9–10.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Klobukowski, 34–5.

□□□□□□□□□Kautsky, No. 376, n. 1.

□□□□□□□*Belgian Grey Book*, No. 20.

“□□□□□□”□Cammaerts, 39.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 67.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□D'Ydewalle, 94.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cammaerts, 108–9, 115.

“□□□□□□□□”□Galet, 8.

□□□□□1913□□□□□□Beyens, II, 38–43; Jules Cambon to Pichon, November 22, 1913, *French Yellow Book*, No. 6; Poincaré, II, 86; Galet, 23.

□□□□□□□□□□Beyens, II, 47–53.

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□□□□□□□□□□see notes on Moltke and Jagow for Chapter 8, p. 145.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Belgian Grey Book*, No. 21; Cammaerts, 13.

□□□□□□□Carton de Wiart, 210.

□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□Tirpitz, I, 366–70.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hanssen, 14. More sophisticated Germans were skeptical of the reports. Conrad Haussmann (16), noting the lack of precise details, found them “not very convincing.”

□□□□□□□□□Bassompierre, 31, 37; text of the reply, *Belgian Grey Book*, No. 22.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Galet, 58–9.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Cammaerts, 19.

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“□□”□Corbett, 20–21.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Grey, II, Appendix D, 301.

□□□□□□□□□Grey to Bertie, BD, XI, 487.

□□□“□□”□□□oincaré, II, 278.

□□□□“□□□□”□□□□article by Cambon, *Revue de France*, July 1, 1921.

□□□□□□Morley, 4, 17; Asquith, II, 8.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Grenfell, Field Marshall Lord, *Memoirs*, London, 1925, 204.

□□□□□□full text, Grey, II, Appendix D.

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“□□□□□□”□Churchill, 235.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Poincaré, IV, 519 (French ed.).

“□□□□□□”□Blücher, 137.

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□□□□□□□□□□□□□King George to Grey, December 8, 1912, BD, X, part 2, No. 452. On July 26, 1914, Prince Henry, who was again in England, was told by King George, “I hope we shall remain neutral.… But if Germany declares war on Russia and France joins Russia, then I am afraid we shall be dragged into it.” Nicolson, *George V*, 245–6.

□□“□□”□□□□□□□□Freytag-Loringhoven, qtd. *AQ*, April 1924, 153.

□□□□□□□□Wile, 212.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Kuhl, 34.

□□1913□□□□□□Ritter, 68–9. Even in 1906 Schlieffen envisaged Britain as an enemy with an expeditionary force of 100,000 in Belgium, *ibid.*, 161–4.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Kuhl, qtd. *AQ*, April 1922, 166.

“□□□□□□”□qtd. Frothingham, 60. The German Navy, like the Army, expected Britain to be an enemy: “There was scarcely any possible doubt that England would never countenance a military weakening of France by us,” Tirpitz, I, 334.

□□□□□“□□□□□□”□*My War Experiences*, 5.

□□□□□□□□*Alldeutscher Blätter*, August 3, qtd. Hallays, 27.

□□□□□□“□□”□Hanssen, 13, 19.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, II, 284.

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□□□□□□□□Whitlock, 64; Gibson, 22.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Czernin, *In the World War*, New York, 1920, 16.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Crown Prince, *Memoirs*, 180.

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□□□□□□□Messimy, 289.

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□□□□“□□□□”□Poincaré, *ibid*.

□□□□□□Hanssen, 25.

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□□□□□□□□□□□*ibid*., 21; Hanssen, 25; text of speech is in Ralph H. Lutz, *Fall of the German Empire, Documents, 1914–18*, Stanford, 1932, Vol. I.

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□□□□□□□*NYT*, August 5, 2:6; full text in Lutz, *op. cit*.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Tirpitz, I, 307.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Crown Prince, *Memoirs*, 81–2.

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□□□□□□□□Hanssen, 14.

“□□□□□□□□”□Blücher, 6.

□□□□□□□Poincaré, II, 293.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Wilson, 147, 156; Chamberlain, 103–4.

□□□□□□□□□□Dugdale, II, 81.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Punch*, August 12, 154; MacDonagh, 78. *Punch's* correspondent, who was present, says Asquith's statement was received with “a deep-throated cheer … fierce in its intensity.” *The Times* correspondent (MacDonagh), who was also present, says it was received in “complete silence.” This illustrates one of the perils of writing history.

□□□□□□□Lloyd George, 69–71.

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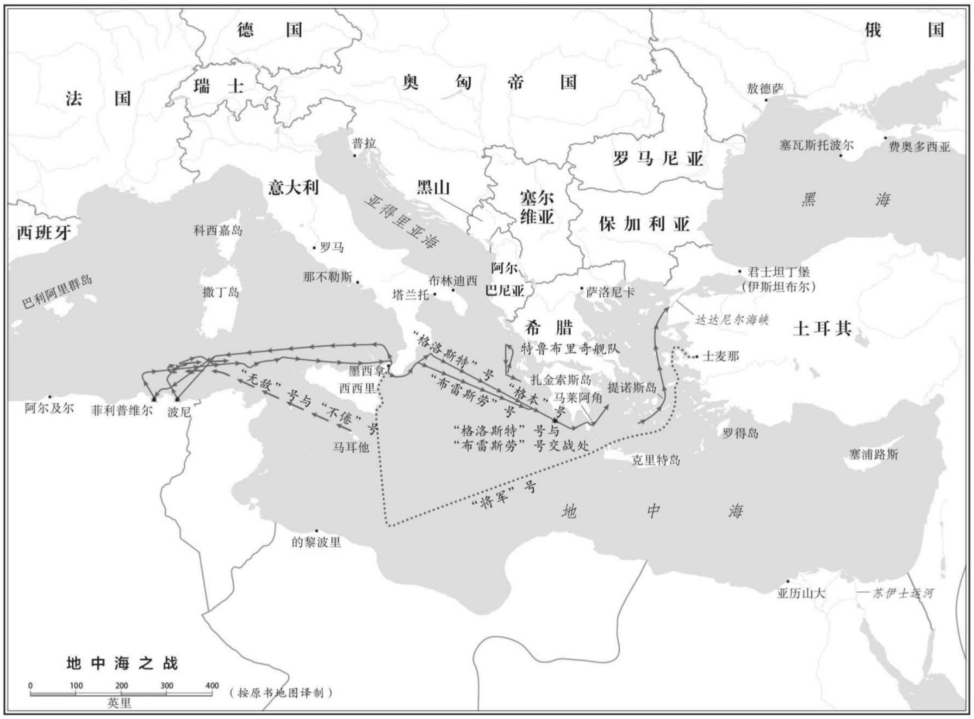

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Sources for all action by, and events aboard, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, unless otherwise noted, are Souchon, Kopp, and *Krieg zur See*, the official German naval history. Likewise, for action of the British ships, the sources are the official history, Corbett, 56–73 (with two magnificent maps, unfortunately too large to reproduce in these less expansive days), Milne, and Churchill 236–43 and 265–75. Corbett's account was published first; Milne's was written to

dispute Corbett who, he felt, had done him injustice, Churchill's to compose a narrative that, while not too obviously blaming the naval commanders, would show the Admiralty to have been blameless and still claim to be history, not special pleading. This delicate feat of balancing was accomplished by placing the blame for failure to arrest the *Goeben* on accidents of fate; on “the terrible Ifs,” in his words. The account is one to be read with caution not incompatible with admiration.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Krieg zur See*, 2. Tirpitz's idea was that Souchon should be placed at the disposal of the Turkish Government “to command the Turkish fleet.” Tirpitz to Jagow, Kautsky, No. 775.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Emin, 68–69; Nogales, 26, Morgenthau, 30–34.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Steed, I, 377; Morgenthau, 20–24; Nogales, 26–28.

□□□□□□□□□□□□*Aftermath*, 374.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Churchill, 524.

□□□□□□These took the form of marginal notes on telegrams from Wangenheim, German ambassador in Constantinople, Kautsky, Nos. 141 and 149. The Kaiser was on his yacht at this time, mid-July, and his marginalia were telegraphed to the Foreign Office as instructions.

□□□□□□□□□□Emin, 66–8; Djemal, 107–14; correspondence between Wangenheim and Jagow; Kautsky Nos. 45, 71, 117, 141, 144, 183, 285. Draft of the Treaty, signed Bethmann-Hollweg, is No. 320; final text is No. 733; further discussion of terms and implementation, Nos. 398, 411, 508, 517, 726, 836.

□□“□□□”□□□□□□□Churchill, *Aftermath*, 377–8; Djemal, 96, 104, 116; Grey, II, 165–66; Grey's “regrets”: *British Blue Book*, II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

□□□□3000□□□□Allen, Whitehead and Chadwick, *The Great War*, Philadelphia, 1916, II, 374.

□□□□□□□□On August 3 Wangenheim reported that Enver would like “to declare war immediately” but the other ministers were against it; Kautsky, No. 795.

“□□□□□□”□Souchon, 33.

“□□□□□□□□”□Souchon gives the conversation verbatim, 37.

□□□□□□□□BD, XI, 480.

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□□□□□□*ibid.*, 272.

“□□□□□□□”□Fisher, *Letters*, II, 451, April 22, 1912.

□□□□□□□□□*ibid.;* “succumbing to court influence,” 458; “Utterly useless,” *ibid.;* “unfitted,” 451; “backstairs cad,” 360; “serpent,” 418; “Sir B. Mean,” 447.

□□□8□2□□□□□Churchill, 239; third order to Milne, *ibid*.

□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, II, 279–80.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Capt. Voitoux, “l'Evasion du Goeben et Breslau,” *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, March and May, 1919. The French role in the failure to arrest the *Goeben*, like the British, became a cause of extreme embarrassment to the government and was investigated in 1916 by a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry under Admiral Amadée Bienaimé. Its report, implying blame of Admiral Lapeyrère, which he refused to answer, was never published but was analyzed in Admiral Bienaimé's book, which gives the impression of making Admiral Lapeyrère the scapegoat for a general dissatisfaction with the navy. Materials collected by the Committee of Inquiry were deposited in 1919 with the Ministry of Marine.

“□□□□”□“□□□□□□□”□Souchon, 40.

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□□□□□□□□Churchill, 239.

“□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid*.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Asquith, II, 21.

□□□□□□□Kopp, 28–31, 53; Souchon, 42.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Churchill, 242.

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□□□□□□□□□□□*Krieg zur See*, 13; Souchon, 47. Turkish hesitations which caused the cancellation are reported by Wangenheim, Kautsky, Nos. 852 and 854.

“□□□□□□”□Souchon, 47.

□□□□□□□□□Souchon, 45.

“□□□□□□□□”□Corbett, 62.

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“□□□□□□□□□”□*Krieg zur See*, 20.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid*.

□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□Morgenthau, 70–71.

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“□□□□□□□□”□Churchill, 271.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Corbett, 73.

□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□Asquith, II, 26.

□“□□”□“□□”□□□□Djemal, 119–20; Morgenthau, 76–78. The “sale” and the diplomatic furor aroused by the arrival of the German warships is documented in the reports of the various ambassadors in Constantinople to their governments, especially Giers to the Russian Foreign Office and Sir Louis Mallet to the British, contained in the *Russian Orange Book, II*, and the *British Blue Book, II*, respectively.

□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□Paléologue, 84–85.

“□□□□”□“□□□□”□Asquith, II, 26, 28.

□□□□□□□*Gallieni parle*, 78.

□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□*ibid*., 26.

□□□□□□□□□□□Emin, 75–76; Giers to Foreign Office, *Russian Orange Book*, II, No. 98; Roberts to Grey, *British Blue Book, II*, No. 178; Memorandum by Sir Louis Mallet, November 20, *ibid*.

“□□□□□□□□□□□‘□□’□□□□□□”□article on Troubridge, *DNB*. On the ground that the House of Commons had the constitutional right to review courts-martial, Commander Bellairs, an M.P., made several attempts to force the Admiralty to release the report of the Court, without success. As the finding was acquittal, the Commander said he could see no reason for the Admiralty to keep the report secret, “except to prevent the public from knowing the bad arrangements they made at the outset of the war.” April 15, 1919, *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th series, Vol. 114, 2863–71.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□article on Milne, *DNB*.

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8月3日，德国第二骑兵师在Ghent附近遭遇比利时第四师，双方骑兵展开了一场大规模的遭遇战。Lanrezac下令第五军在8月3日晚开始向Gette河畔的Louvain地区集结，40公里的行军令人筋疲力尽。

1914年1月，Leman将军在Gette河畔的Tirlemont设防，8月1日，德国第二骑兵师在Tirlemont遭遇比利时第四师，8月3日，德国第二骑兵师在Tirlemont遭遇“比利时第四师”。

1926年，15岁的7岁的13岁的1914年8月11.7日，德国第二骑兵师在Tirlemont遭遇比利时第四师。

德国第二骑兵师在Tirlemont遭遇比利时第四师

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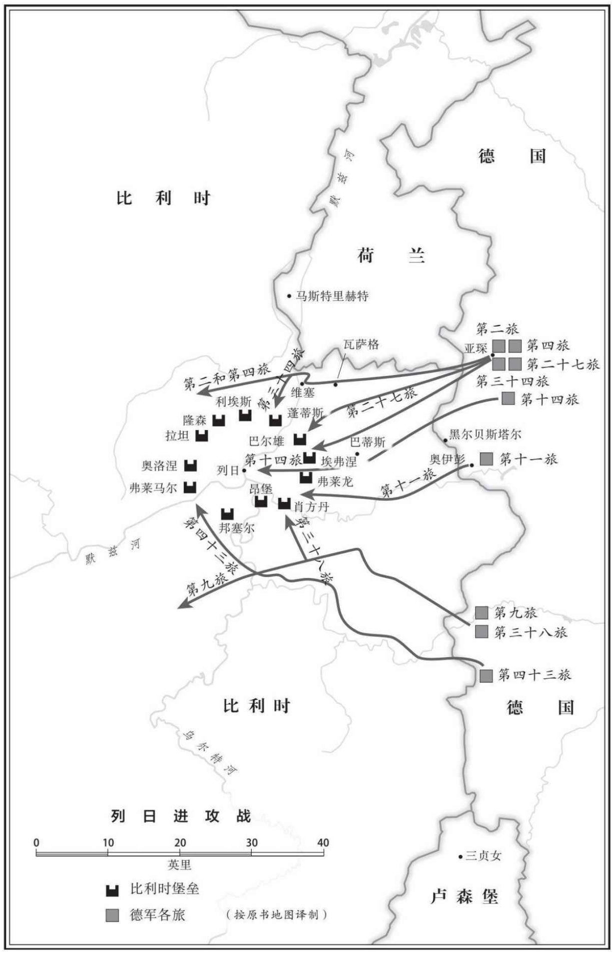

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Unless otherwise noted, the operations of the Belgian Army in this chapter are based chiefly on Galet, van der Essen, and Cammaerts; of the German Army on Ludendorff's chapter “Liège,” 28–46, and on Reichsarchiv, *Weltkrieg*, Vol. I, 108–20, which, rather disproportionately, gives twelve pages to the infantry assault and only one to the work of the siege guns. The assembly, transport, and operations of the guns are taken chiefly from Schindler. Operations of the Army of Alsace are from Dubail and *AF*, I, I, Chapters 4 and 5, 90–154.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 136; Engerand, *Bataille*, 193.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. J. M. Kennedy, *The Campaign Round Liège*, London, 1915.

“□□□□□”□a remark applied by Baron von Stein to the Tugenbund, qtd. Buchan, 129.

□□□□□□□□39□□□□□□□□□□□In correspondence with Conrad in 1909 Moltke at first said he expected to be able to transfer troops to help Austria, after defeating France, “between the 36th and 40th day of mobilization.” Conrad, I, 369. Later he thought he could defeat France by the 21st day if she took the offensive and by the 28th day if she fought behind her frontiers. *Ibid.*, 374. Five years later, on May 12, 1914, when Conrad visited Moltke at Karlsbad, Moltke said, “We hope to be finished with France in six weeks from the start of operations or at least to be so far forward that we can turn our main forces to the East.” *Ibid.*, III, 669. On this occasion, he specified achieving a decision in the west “on the 39th or 40th day after mobilization.” Karl Friedrich Nowak, *Les Dessous de la défaite*, Paris, Payot, 1925, 53.

□□□□□In addition to Schindler, whose account is largely concerned with the transport and actual operation of the guns, the technical facts are taken from

Army War College, *Study on Development of Large Calibre Mobile Artillery in the European War*, Washington, GPO, 1916, p. 8; *U.S. Field Artillery Journal*, October 1914, p. 591 and January 1915, p. 35; “Austria's Famous ‘Skoda’ Mortars,” *Scientific American*, July 3, 1915.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□qtd. Whitlock, 126.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Ludendorff, 28.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 29.

“□□□□”□Galet, 56.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Hanotaux, III, 84.

□□□□□□□□van der Essen, 52.

“□□□□□”□Schryver, qtd. *AQ*, October 1922, 157.

□□□□□□□□□□Gibson, 31; Cobb, 90.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Bülow, III, 160. General von Bülow was killed the same day. According to rumor at the time, he committed suicide; according to an investigation conducted by Prince Bülow, he was shot by a *franc-tireur*.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hanotaux, III, 125.

□□□□□□□□Bloem, 27, 29.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Conrad, IV, 193.

□□□□□□□□□□qtd. *Times History of the War*, I, 336.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Ludendorff, 41.

□□□□□□□□□□□□*Weltkrieg*, I, 115.

□□□□□□□□□□Schryver, 103.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□van der Essen, 62.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Martin H. Donohue in *NYT*, August 10.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Cammaerts, 147.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bloem, 48.

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□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□M. Deschanel, qtd. *Times*, August 7. So great was the moral effect of Belgium's resistance that even the Irish Nationalist leader, John Redmond, said there was no sacrifice he would not make on behalf of Belgium, *Times History of the War*, I, 357.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Bülow, 22.

□□□□□□□□□□□Moltke, *Erinnerungen*, 24.

□□“□□□□”□Gerard, 198, 206.

□□8□9□□□□□□□□□□□□Gibson, 44.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Cammaerts, 20.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Galet, 93–5.

□□□□□□Engerand, 456–7.

“□□□□□”□□□□□Spears, 345. One of Joffre's choices: Joffre, 12, 236.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*AF*, I, I, Annexe 19, 59–60; Lanrezac, 54–56; Engerand, 412–15.

□□□□□□□Joffre, 130–31.

□□□□□□□□□□Briey, April 15, 1919, evidence of Ruffey.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, also Dubail, 12, and Lanrezac, 60–61.

□□□□·□□□*NYT*, September 20, I V, 3.

□□□□□□□□□□Mayer, 40; Pierrefeu, *GQG*, 96–99.

“□□□□□□□□”□*Gallieni parle*, 69.

□□□□□□Dubail, 14–20.

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“□□□□”□qtd. Mayer, 35; Joffre, 152, 156.

□□□□□□□□□Poincaré III, 51.

“□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gallieni, *Mémoires*, 172; Corday, 138; Poincaré, III, 92. Messimy, 243–52, gives a heart-rending account of the Government's “anguish” at being kept uninformed by GQG of events at the front and of its persistent efforts to force Joffre out of his “obstinate mutism.” Although his exasperation nerved Messimy at one point to inform his liaison officer with GQG that “this intolerable and even ridiculous situation” could not continue, and to appoint André Tardieu as his own representative at GQG, Joffre calmly continued in his “systematic defiance” of the Government and managed to “seduce” Tardieu to his views.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gallieni, *Mémoires*, 172; Corday, 138.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Gallieni, *Carnets*, 33, n. 1.

□□□□□□□□*ibid.*, 32, n. 2.

□□□□□□□□Maurice, 30; Spears, 100. The French cavalry's habits were severely disapproved by British cavalrymen. “They never got off,” says Major Bridges, 81.

□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□qtd. De Weerd, 72.

□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 19; Engerand, 422.

□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□Joffre, 159.

□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 141, 147–8, 150.

□□□□□□□□□□Galet, 96.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 100.

□□□□□□□□□Schindler, 119; Mühlon, 92; Essen, 77–79; Sutherland, 34, 83, who was in Namur when the same guns shelled those forts ten days later.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Demblon, 110–11.

□□□□□□□Hanotaux, III, 254.

“□□□□□”□Cammaerts, 151.

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Unless otherwise noted, facts about the BEF are from Edmonds, and all quotations from Sir Henry Wilson and Haig are from their diaries, edited by Callwell and Blake, respectively.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Philip Gibbs, *Now It Can Be Told*.

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Childs, 134.

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]qtd. F. Maurice, *Life of General Rawlinson*, 95.

“[illegible]”[illegible]qtd. Magnus, 284. On Kitchener's views, see also Esher, *Tragedy*, 31, 38–9.

[illegible]qtd. Hurd, *British Fleet*, 29.

“[illegible]”[illegible]qtd. Magnus, 279.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Esher, *Journals*, III, 58.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Arthur, 13.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Grey, II, 69.

□□□□“□□□□”□Wilson, 112.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□article on French, *DNB*.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Trevelyan, 198.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□to the Duke of Connaught, May 23, 1915, qtd. Nicolson, *George V*, 266.

“□□□□□□□”□qtd. Cruttwell, 23.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Esher, *Tragedy*, 43.

8□5□□□□□□□□□□Churchill, 248–55; Haldane, 296; Wilson, 158–9; Blake, 68–9; Esher, *Tragedy*, 24.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□td. Magnus, 302.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Memoirs of Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein*, New York, 1958, 30.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Edmonds, 11.

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□□□□□□□qtd. Poincaré, III, 31.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Childs, 117.

□□□□□□□□□□Charteris, 11.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Callwell, *Dug-Out*, 17.

8□12□□□□□□□□□□Huguet, 41–2; Wilson, 162–3; Arthur, *Kitchener*, 22.

□□□□□□□Edmonds, Appendix 8.

“□□□□□□□□”□text in Spears, Appendix XIII.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Corbett-Smith, 32.

“□□□□□□”□Bridges, 75.

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Spears’ narrative, Chapters IV through VIII, is the most vivid and valuable in English for the Sambre and Meuse front if its strong anti-Lanrezac bias and other prejudices are skirted and Lanrezac, Engerand, and other French accounts are read to balance it. All French orders cited are in the *Annexes* to *AF*, I, I.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Monteil, 34; also on the artillery, Dubail, 44; Messimy, 86–87.

□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□Rupprecht, 12, 15.

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“□□□”□Dubail, 39.

[illegible]Lanrezac, 67–77.

“[illegible]200[illegible]”[illegible]Percin, 105.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Lanrezac, 73.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Pierrefeu, *Plutarque*, 69.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Lanrezac, 78.

“[illegible]”[illegible]*ibid*.

[illegible]*ibid.*, 79; Annexe No. 283; Joffre, 159.

[illegible]Joffre, 158; Messimy, “Comment j'ai nommé Gallieni,” *Revue de Paris*, September 15, 1921, 247–61.

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Annexe No. 270.

[illegible]Annexe No. 307.

[illegible]Joffre, 164; Engerand, 523–4.

[illegible]Spears, 89.

“[illegible]”[illegible]Schlieffen's *Cannae*, qtd. Earle, *Modern Strategy*, 194.

[illegible]Bauer, 47; Kuhl, qtd. *AQ*, January 1921, 346.

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Sturgkh, 24.

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Bauer, 34.

[illegible]*ibid.*, 46.

[illegible]Tappen, 103–4.

[illegible]Rupprecht, 13–21; these and the following account of events at Sixth Army Hq., visits of Zollner and Dommes, conversations with them and OHL are from Krafft, 12–22.

[illegible]Guard, 23; Poincaré, III, 51.

“[illegible]”[illegible]French, 39.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Poincaré, III, 225.

□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Poincaré, III, 169.

□□□□□□□□Joffre, 161; French, 34–5.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Magnus, 302.

□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□to Kitchener, August 17, French, 39–40.

“□□□□□□”□Huguet, 51.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Besides the accounts of the two principals, which are of little interest, there are four eyewitness reports of this encounter: Wilson's in Callwell, 164; Spears, 72–82; Huguet, 51; and a postwar speech by Captain Fagalde, Intelligence officer of Lanrezac's staff, to the Forum Club, London, qtd. *AQ*, April 1925, 35.

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“□□□□□□□□”□French, 40.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□J. W. Fortescue, *Quarterly Review*, October 1919, 363.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Galet, 103, 116–19.

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“□□□□□□□□□”□Galet, 122.

□□□□□□□□□Klobukowski, *Résistance belge;* D'Ydyewalle, 109; Galet, 122.

□□□□□□□Annexe No. 430.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Spears, 92.

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□□□□□□Spears, 87–8, 94.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Kluck, 32.

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□□□□□□□□Kluck, 22; Bülow, 37.

□□□□□□□Edmonds, 44.

□·□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kluck, 29–30.

“□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 25–6.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□150□□Whitlock, 209; Dinant: Gibson, 326–29. Method of procedure: Gibson, 151; Whitlock, Cobb, *et al*, see Notes to Chap. 16.

□□□□Hausen, 25, 135, 141, 152–3.

□□□□□□□□□□□Whitlock, 70–71; 162.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Kluck, 26.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cobb, 79.

□□□□□□□□□Gibson, 115; Whitlock, 113, 124–6, 138.

□□□“□□”□□□Blücher, 20.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□*La France héroïque et ses alliés*, Paris, Larousse, 1916, I, 44. Joffre's speech at Thann: Hinzelen, Emile, *Notre Joffre*, Paris, Delagrave, 1919, 39.

□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Annexe No. 587.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Annexe No. 589.

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□□□□□□□□□□□Tappen, 15 (German ed.).

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Rupprecht, 37, n.; Krafft, 47.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Annexes Nos. 592 and 593. Battle of Ardennes: *AF*, I, I, *351–432, passim*.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Annexe No. 352.

□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 66.

□□□□□□□Messimy (88) says they were written by “a group of faithful and devoted officers.”

“□□□□”□Wile, *Men Around the Kaiser*, 69.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Grelling, 46.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Crown Prince, *War Experiences*, 3.

“□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Goerlitz, 158.

“□□□□□”□□□□Crown Prince, *War Experiences*, 12.

“□□□□”□“□□□□□”□Engerand, 483, 488–9.

“□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Monteil, 34.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□Engerand, 491.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Langle, 137.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Briey, April 15, evidence of Ruffey.

“□□□□□□□”□Commandant A. Grasset, *Un Combat de rencontre, Neufchâteau, 22 Août, 1914*, qtd. *AQ*, January 1924, 390.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Engerand, 499, 504.

□□□□□□□□qtd. W. E. Grey, *With the French Eastern Army*, London, 1915, 49.

□□□□□□□□Charbonneau, 54.

“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□Crown Prince, *War Experiences*, 26, 29–37.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 166; Briey, April 15, evidence of Ruffey.

“□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Briey, *ibid*.

□□□□□□“□□□□”□Langle, 137. “Serious check at Tintigny”: Annexe No. 1098.

“□□□□□□□”□Annexe No. 1044.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A memorandum addressed to the German Supreme Command by Dr. Reichert of the Iron and Steel Association in December 1917 supported a plea for annexation of Briey with the argument that without the ores of this region “the continuation of the war would have been impossible. If we had not possessed Briey we would have been defeated long ago.” *Wirtschaftzeitung der Zentralmaechte*, December 17, 1917, qtd. Engerand, 486. The subject is fully discussed in Engerand's *Rapport* on Briey, *première partie*.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Isaac, *Joffre at Lanrezac*, 87.

“□□□□□□□”□qtd. *AQ*, April 1923, 37.

“□□□□”□□□□Crown Prince, *War Experiences*, 37.

“□□□□□□□□”□Sven Hedin, qtd. Gardiner, 223.

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□□□□8□19□□□□Arthur, 29.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Spears, 127. “I leave you absolute judge”: Annexe, No. 705.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Spears, 105; Engerand, 530–31.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Spears, 132.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Sutherland, 36–9.

“□□□□□□□”□Spears, 128.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Arthur, 30.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Spears, 137, n.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bridges, 77.

□□□—□□□□□□□□□□Edmonds, preface to Bloem, viii.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Bülow, 50.

□□□□□□□□□Bülow, 58; Hausen, 165–6, 191–3.

□□□□□Spears, 144.

□□□□□□□“□□”□Annexe No. 894.

□□□□2.25□□Lanrezac, 135.

□□□“□□□□”□“□□□□”□□Annexe No. 876.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Spears, 149–50; Edmonds, 92, n. 2.

“□□□”□Engerand, 537.

“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□Lanrezac, 181, 183–4, 196. General Spears has stated (173) that the retreat of the Fourth Army “was not the reason” for Lanrezac's decision because, according to Spears, Lanrezac did not know of it until next morning, a direct contradiction of Lanrezac's own statement that he had “received confirmation” of it before he made his decision. Writing after Lanrezac was dead, Spears states (173 n.), “There is not the least trace of such a communication.” In view of the fact that, as Messimy testified at the Briey hearings, the archives contained 45,000 to 50,000 files of 500 to 1,000 documents each, a probable total of 25 to 30 million pieces, Spears’ negative is hardly proof. His verdict was conditioned less by the evidence than by his feeling that Lanrezac's retreat “left the British in the lurch” (176).

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Lanrezac, 185; Pierrefeu, *Plutarque*, 74.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Edmonds, 68, 72. For the battle of Mons, see also Maurice, 58–76.

□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□Edmonds, 72, n. 1.

“□□□□□□□”□Smith-Dorrien, 386.

“□□□□”□Edmonds, 77.

□□□□□□□□Hamilton, 28; Edmonds, 86.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□Bloem, 72–73.

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□□□□□□French, 64; Wilson, 167.

□□□□□□□□□□Smith-Dorrien, 388; and experience of the author in 1959.

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“□□□□□□□□□”□Arthur, 36.

“□□□□□□”□qtd. Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, V, 26.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 178, 181, 183–5, 187.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 187.

□□□□□□□□□Briey, July 4, evidence of Joffre.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□editor of *Army Quarterly*, April, 1925, 35.

□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□*NYT* from London, August 26, 1:3.

“□□□□□□□□”□Poincaré, III, 88.

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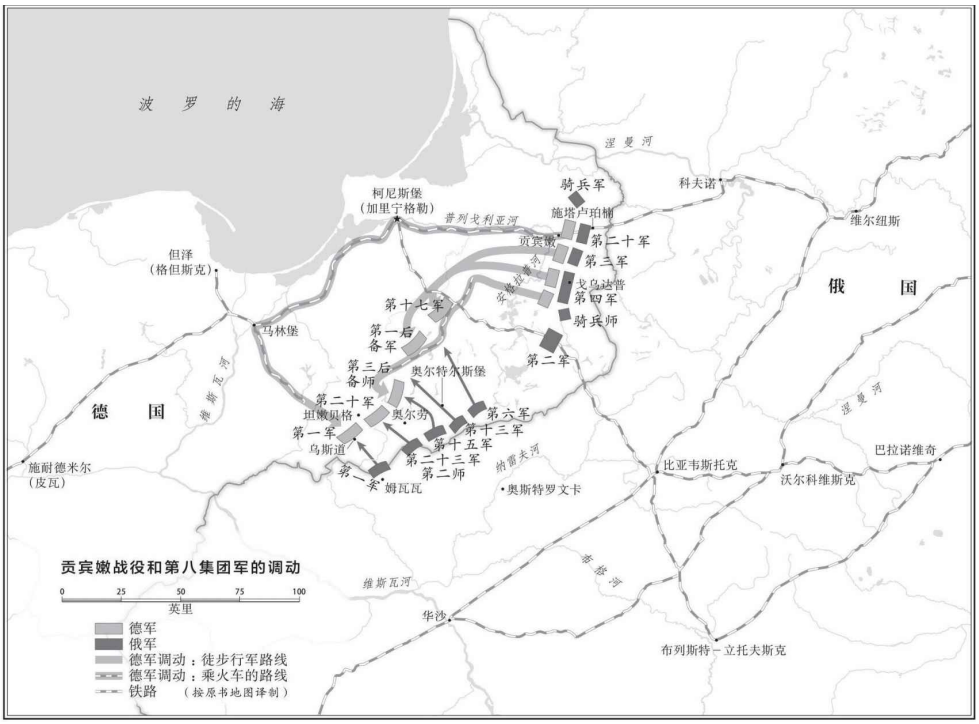
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乌斯道
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第二师
纳雷夫河
施耐德米尔
（皮瓦）
第一军
姆瓦瓦
奥斯特罗文卡
比亚韦斯托克
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贡宾嫩战役和第八集团军的调动
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Chief sources for military operations in this chapter are Golovin (all references are to his *Campaign of 1914)*, Gourko who was with Rennenkampf's Army, Knox who was with Samsonov's Army, Hoffmann and François who were with the Eighth Army, Danilov and Bauer who were at Russian and German Headquarters, respectively, and finally, Ironside who assembled material from both sides. (Hoffmann's two books are referred to in the Notes as *WLO* and *TaT*.)

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Paléologue, 65.

□□□“□□□□□□□”□Golovin, 89.

“□□□□”□Paléologue, 61.

□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 140.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□The colleague who reported them was General Polivanov, War Minister in 1915–16, qtd. Florinsky, *Russia*, New York, 1958, II, 1320.

□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 3 and Wilson, 163.

□□□□□□Ironside, 39–50.

□□□□□□□Gardiner, 132.

“□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 133.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Florinsky, *End of the Empire*, 38.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bloem, 13.

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□□□□□□□□□□□□□Danilov, 203; Hoffmann, *TaT*, 265.

□□□□□Julius West, *Soldiers of the Tsar*, London, 1915, 8.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□McEntee, 90.

“□□□□□25□□□”□Golovin, *Army*, 144.

“□□□□□□”□Gourko, 33.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Hoffmann, WLO, 17.

“□□□□□□□□.....□□□□□□”□Lt.-Gen. *Kabisch, Streitfragen des Weltkrieges*, qtd. *AQ*, July 1925, 414.

□□□□□□□□□□□□qtd. Stephen King-Hall, *Western Civilization and the Far East*, London, 1924, 160.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□François, 156; Hoffmann, WLO, 17.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□François, 170–76.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Danilov, 192–3; Golovin, 155.

□□□□□□□François, 276.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□François, *Tannenberg, Das Cannae des Weltkrieges*, qtd. *AQ*, January 1927, 411–13.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□François, 190.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Knox, 88.

“□□□□□□□□”□Clausewitz, I, 224.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Hoffmann, *WLO*, 20–22.

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□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□from Prittwitz's papers, found after his death and published in *Militär Wochenblatt*, April 22 and May 7, 1921, qtd. *AQ*, October 1921, 88–92.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Bauer, 45.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hoffmann, *WLO*, 23.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Hoffmann, *TaT*, 250.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Lt.-Gen. Kabisch, qtd. *AQ*, July 1925, 416.

□□□□□□□□□□□Ludendorff, 49–55.

□□□□□□□□□□Hindenburg, 100–03; John Wheeler-Bennett, *Wooden Titan*, New York, 1936, 14–16; Ludwig, *Hindenburg*, Philadelphia, 1935, 83.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hindenburg, 8.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ludendorff, 55; Hindenburg, 103.

“‘□□□’□□”□Capt. Henri Carré, *The Real Master of Germany*, qtd. *NYT*, May 19, 1918.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Hoffmann, *TaT*, 253.

□□“□□”□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Paléologue, 102.

“□□□□□□”□Knox, 60.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Golovin, 183.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ironside, 126–9.

“□□□□□□”□Knox, 62.

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“□□□□□□□”□François, 228.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ludendorff, 59; Hoffmann, 265–68. “He kept asking me anxiously”: qtd. Nowak, Introduction to Hoffmann's *Diaries*, I, 18. Hoffmann's account of Rennenkampf-Samsonov quarrel, 314; his handing over the messages while cars in motion, 268.

□□□□□□□□□Ludendorff, 58; Hindenburg, 115, 118; Hoffmann, 282.

□□□□□□Hoffmann, 315–16. OHL's reasons: Tappen, 16–19, 110–111. President of the Prussian Bundesrat: Ludwig, 456. Director of Krupp: Mühlon, 113. Kaiser deeply affected: François, 51. Moltke quoted: Memorandum of 1913, Ritter, 68–9.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bülow, 64–5; Hansen, 179.

“□□□□□□”□Ironside, 133.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Golovin, 205; *Poddavki: ibid.*, 217.

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“□□□□□□”□Agourtine, 34.

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□□□□□□Ludendorff, 62–3; Hoffmann, 285–89.

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“□□□□□□□□”□Golovin, 254.

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“□□□□□□□□□”□Martos Ms., qtd. Golovin, 263.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Blücher, 37.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ludendorff, 68; François (245) also calls it a “legend.”

“□□□□□□□□”□Hoffmann, *Diaries*, I, 41. Naming the battle Tannenberg: Hoffman, 312; Ludendorff, 68. “Strain on my nerves”: *ibid*.

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“□□□□□□□□”□Hoffmann, *Diaries*, I, 41. Tappen (108) also acknowledges that the detailed knowledge of Russian movements obtained from the intercepts “greatly facilitated” German command decisions in East Prussia.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. De Weerd, 80. Hoffmann remained on the Eastern Front throughout the war, eventually succeeding Ludendorff as Chief of Staff on that front and conducting the German side of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. He appears as General Wilhelm Clauss, the central character of Arnold Zweig's novel *The Crowning of a King*, N.Y., 1938.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gurko, 83; Golovin, 386.

“□□□□□□”□Golovin, *Army*, 24.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Richard Charques, *The Twilight of Imperial Russia*, New York, 1959, 216.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Knox, 90; Paléologue, 106.

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□□□*NYT* from Maestricht, August 25, 2:2; Whitlock, 198.

□□□□□□□□□□□167–70. 612 dead: Gibson, 329. For description of Dinant after the destruction, Cobb, 409–10.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Wetterlé, 231; Kluck, 29; Ludendorff, 37; Crown Prince, *War Experiences*, 41–2, 50; Bloem, 28, 32, 20, Blücher, 16, 26.

□□□qtd. Arnold Zweig, *Crowning of a King*, N.Y, 1938, 306.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Cobb, 269.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Whitlock, 152.

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□□□□□□□Whitlock, 160.

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□□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 166.

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“□□□□□□□□□”□Wetterlé, 144.

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□□□□□□□□□□Among others to whom Erzberger sent it was Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, who published it after the war in his *Politische Dokumente*, Hamburg, 1926, III, 68–73. See also Karl Epstein, *Matthias Erzberger*, Princeton, 1959, chap. v.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Frank H. Simonds in “1914—the End of an Era,” *New Republic*, Jan. 2, 1915.

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“□□□□□”□Churchill, 103.

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“□□□□□□”□qtd. Custance, 104. Trade and tonnage figures: Fayle, 6, 15.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Fisher, *Memories*, 197.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Kurenberg, 129.

□□□□□□□□□Wile, *Men Around the Kaiser*, 145–6.

“□□□□□□□”□□□□Churchill, 276.

□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□*DNB*, Jellicoe.

□□□“□□□□□□”□Fisher, *Letters*, II, 416; III, 33.

“□□□□”□Jellicoe, 92. His chaps. IV and V; “Declaration of War” and “Submarine and Mine Menace in the North Sea” describe this anxiety feelingly on every page.

“□□□□□□□”□Corbett, 79.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Tirpitz, II, 87.

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□□□“□□□□”□Bülow, I, 198.

□□□□□□□□□□Wetterlé, 218. Müller's characteristics: Ludwig, 465.

□□□□“□□□□□□”□Tirpitz, II, 91.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Corbett, 54.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Halévy, 223; Puleston, 130; Siney, 11; Salter, 98–99.

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“□□□□□□□□□”□Asquith, II, 33.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Grey, II, 103.

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□□□□□□□Arthur S. Link, *American Epoch*, N.Y., 1955, 177. Footnote on hidden trade: Consett, *passim*, and figures in *Encyc. Brit.*, 14th ed., article “Blockade.”

“□□□□□□□□□”□Page, 361.

□□□□□□□□□□□Baker, 55–6.

“□□□□”□*ibid.*, 62; “Felt deeply the destruction of Louvain”: House, 293; “In the most solemn way”: Spring-Rice, 223.

“□□□□□□□□□”□*Lansing Papers*, I, 29–30.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Baker, 74.

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20–21, supplemented by his *Carnets*, 17–22, 39–46; Hirschauer, 59–63; and above all from Messimy's helpfully outspoken if confusingly arranged *Souvenirs*, Part Three, Chap. IV, “Nomination de Gallieni comme Gouverneur Militaire de Paris,” 206–228; Chap. V, “Le Gouvernement et le G.Q.G.,” 229–265 and the last part of Chap. VII, “Le Ministère de la Guerre en Août 1914,” the paragraphs entitled, “La panique parlementaire,” “la journée du 25 Août” and “la journée du 26 Août,” pp. 364–375.

“□□□□”□Hanotaux, IX, 41. “Le tourisme”: Monteil, 37.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Renouvin, 83.

□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 193.

“□□□□”□□□qtd. Edmonds, 115.

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□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□French, 84; Arthur, 38.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Maurice, 101–02; Hamilton, 52–3.

“□□□□□□□□”□Edmonds, 134.

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□□□□□□□□Childs, 124; Macready, 206; Wilson, 169.

□□□□□□□□2000□□□Blake, 37.

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□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□qtd. Edmonds, 169–70.

“□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 211.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Smith-Dorrien, 409.

□□□□□□Edmonds’ account, which occupies three chapters and sixty pages, 152–211, has all the relevant information but is too detailed to give a very clear impression. Smith-Dorrien, 400–410, Hamilton, 59–79, and Maurice, 113–14, are more readable.

□□□□□□□□□□□Edmonds, 238.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□J. W. Fortescue, *Quarterly Review*, October 1919, 356.

□□□□□□□□□□Edmonds, 291, n. 2.

□□□□□□Joffre, 197.

□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Smith-Dorrien, 411.

“□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 412.

□□□□□□□Joffre, 195–97; Lanrezac, 209; Huguet, 67; Spears, 233–37.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bülow, 64.

□□□□□□□□□□qtd. Edmonds, 204.

□□□□□□□□□Bülow, 68–9, 78; Kluck, 51, 63.

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□□□□□□Kluck, 75.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Maurice, 126–7.

□□□□□“□□□□”□Kluck, 76.

“□□□□□”□Crown Prince, *War Experiences*, 59. OHL General Order of August 28: qtd. Edmonds, 235.

□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□Tappen, 105.

□□□□□□□□Giraud, 538; *AF*, I, II, 305ff.

□□□□□□Hanotaux, VI, 274.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 203.

□□□□□□□□□□□De Langle, 20–21, 139; *AF*, I, II, 184–201.

□□□□□□□□Foch, 41–47.

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“□□□□□□□”□Spears, 256.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lanrezac, 218–19; Spears, 256–7.

□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□Mayer, 176.

“□□□□□”□Lanrezac, 282.

□□□□□□□□□□Lanrezac, 225–6; Joffre, 207.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□qtd. Pierrefeu, *GQG*, 132.

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□□□□□□□□Bridges, 87–8.

□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Arthur, 37, 43. On Kitchener's refusal: *ibid.*, 39.

□□□□□□□□□□Corbett, 99–100, Churchill, 334–35. Asquith in his diary for August 26 (II, 28–9) records a discussion with Kitchener, Churchill, and Grey about “an idea of Hankey's” (Sir Maurice Hankey, Secretary of the CID) to send 3,000 marines to Ostend which would “please the Belgians and annoy and harass the Germans who would certainly take it to be the pioneer of a larger force.” Winston was “full of ardour” about the plan. It was conceived in response to the shock of the news from Mons and the Allied debacle which Churchill received at 7:00 A.M. on August 24 when Kitchener appeared in his bedroom looking “distorted and discolored” as if his face “had been punched with a fist.” Saying “Bad news” in a hoarse voice, he handed Churchill Sir John French's telegram reporting the debacle and ending with the ominous proposal to defend Havre. It was hoped by the Ostend operation to draw back some of Kluck's forces to the coast, a move in which it only partially succeeded; but German nervousness about this threat, combined with rumors of Russian landings, contributed to the German decision to retreat at the Marne.

“□□□□□□□□”□MacReady, 206.

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□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 212; Lanrezac, 239. Battle of St. Quentin-Guise: *AG*, I, II, 67–81.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 213. Conference at Compiègne: *ibid.*, 214; Edmonds, 241.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Edmonds, 241. Maurice quoted, 129; Hamilton quoted, 82–3; Macready quoted, 105. “Another ten days”: Edmonds, 245; Joffre, 217.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Huguet, 75; Wilson, 172.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Sergeant André Vienot, qtd. Hanotaux, VIII, 111–12; Bülow “felt confident”: Bülow, 85; captured French orders: McEntee, 65. Lanrezac showed “greatest quickness and comprehension”: Spears, 276; Germans were “running away”: *ibid.*, 279; Lanrezac-Belin conversation: Lanrezac, 241; Spears, 281–2.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 217.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□Engerand, Briey, *Rapport*. Clausewitz quoted: III, 89. “Wonderful calm”: Foch, 42. What Joffre said to Alexandre: Demazes, 65.

□□□□□□□□Joffre, 217. “Broken hopes”: Muller, 27.

□□□□□□□□qtd. Edmonds, 251, n. 4; Kühl, *qtd. AQ*, April 1927, 157.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□According to a lecture given at the Sorbonne in 1927 by Commandant Demazes, a member of Joffre's staff and his biographer, qtd. Messimy, 264.

□□□□□Poincaré, III, 111–12.

□□Poincaré, III, 115–122; Joffre, 122; Gallieni, *Mémoires*, 37–39; *Carnets*, 48–49.

□□□□□□□□interview with Briand, *Revue de Paris*, Oct. 1, 1930, qtd. *Carnets*, 128, n. 1.

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□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Gallieni, *Carnets*, 49.

“□□”□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 120; Gallieni, *Mémoires*, 40, and *Carnets*, 50; Gibbons, 159. Text of the German proclamation: *AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 1634.

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“□□□□□□”□Hanotaux, VII, 250.

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□□□□□□□*The History of the Times*, New York, Macmillan, 1952, IV, Part 1, 222–27. “Patriotic reticence”: in Parliament, August 31, qtd. *Times*, Sept. 1, p. 10. “Liberation of the world”: Corbett-Smith, 237.

□□□□□D. C. Somervell, *Reign of George V*, London, 1935, 106, 117–18, and R. H. Gretton, *A Modern History of the English People, 1880–1922*, New York, 1930, 924–25, contain many of the stories current at the time. Other references in MacDonagh, 24, Gardiner, 99, Carton de Wiart, 226. Stories told by returning Americans: *NYT*, Sept. 4 (front page), 5 and 6. Sir Stuart Coats’ letter: *NYT*, Sept. 20, II, 6:3.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Edmonds, Appendix 20.

□□□□□□□□□□□Arthur, 46–7.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*ibid.*, 50; Edmonds, 249.

□□“□□□□□□”□Asquith, II, 30. “You will conform”: Arthur, 51–52. Robertson's letter: to Lord Stamfordham, June 23, 1915, Nicolson, *George V*, 266. This was at a time when Sir John French was supplying Northcliffe with information for a campaign to blame Kitchener for the munitions shortage. King George went to France to talk to army commanders whom he found, as he wrote to Stamfordham, Oct. 25, 1915, to have “entirely lost confidence” in Sir John French and who assured him the feeling “was universal that he must go.” *Ibid.*, 267.

□□□□□□□□□□□Magnus, 292. Birkenhead quoted: 29.

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□□□□□□□□□□□Arthur, 52–4. “A travesty of the facts”: Asquith qtd. in *Living Age*, July 12, 1919, 67.

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“□□□□□□□□□”□Huguet, 84.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□French, 101. Kitchener wore it customarily: Esher, *Tragedy, 66;* Magnus, 281–2.

“□□□□□□□□□□”□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Sir Frederick Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, New York, 1952, 443–4.

□□□□□□□□□□Huguet, 84; French, 101–02.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Edmonds, 264. One of these medals, found by a French infantry officer in the captured luggage of a German staff officer at the Marne, is now in the possession of the author through the courtesy of the nephew of the finder.

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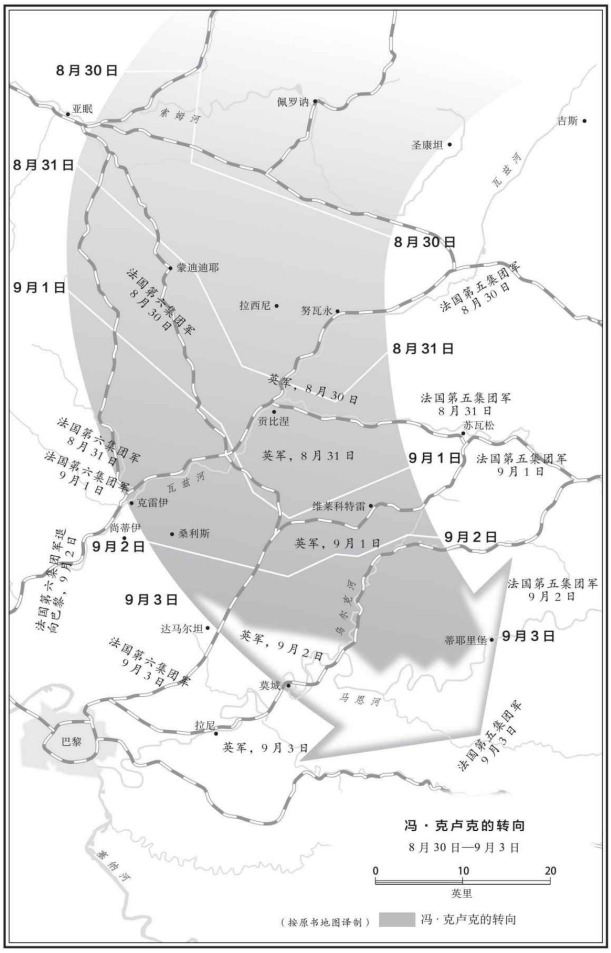
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□□□□□□□□□□□Kluck, 91; captured British letter: Edmonds, 244.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kluck, 83; Kluck's order of August 31 for forced march: Bloem, 112; Moltke's approval of inward wheel: Kluck, 83–4; Hausen, 195.

□□“□□□□□□”□Crown Prince, *War Experiences*, 64.

“□□□□□”□□□□□“□□”□□□□□Kluck, 90.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Maurice, 150–51. General Maurice adds (152) that after the Battle of the Marne when the Germans were in retreat to the Aisne, “Whole parties of officers were captured because they were too intoxicated to move.”

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 204.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*ibid.;* Gallieni, *Mémoires*, 120. Names on the memorial stone were copied by the author on the site.

□□□□□□□□□□Hausen, 208–10.

□□9□2□□□□□□□□Kluck, 94.

□□□□□□□□□□□Kluck, 100.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 1772.

□□□□□“□□□□”□*ibid.*, Annexe No. 1783; Joffre, 225.

□□“□□□□”□Gallieni, *Mémoires*, 52.

□□□□“□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 218–19.

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□□□□□□*AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 1792.

“□□□□□□”□Messimy, 379.

□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□Poincaré, III, 126; Joffre, 232.

□□□□□□□□□□□Gallieni, *Carnets*, 53.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Because these events were taking place at a time of great tension and also because of later efforts during the quarrel over

credit for the Marne, to obscure the question of who was under whose orders, this issue is still not entirely clear. The relevant sources are Joffre, 226, 234–5, 239–42; Gallieni, *Mémoires*, 43, and *Carnets*, 53; Joffre's request to have Paris put under his command is Annexe No. 1785; the order putting Maunoury under Gallieni is Annexe No. 1806; Millerand's order complying with Joffre's request is Annexe No. 1958.

□□□□□□□□*AF*, I, II, 772–4. The 55th and 56th Reserve Divisions who were now to fight for the capital had been withdrawn from Lorraine on August 25, causing General Ruffey, whose flank they were supporting in a counteroffensive in the Briey basin, to break off action. Briey, as Ruffey said in his postwar testimony, was thus “the ransom of Paris.” Fighting as a reserve officer with one of these divisions, the 55th, Charles Péguy was killed on September 7.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Mémoires*, 42, 48–9.

□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 125–27.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Mémoires*, 51–52; “preferred to be without ministers”: *Parle*, 38; “Made all my dispositions”: *Mémoires*, 57.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Spears, 331–32; his report: *AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 1848.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Poincaré, III, 131.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 134.

□□□□□□□□□□□□*ibid.*, 131; Mott, 155–7, 160–63; *Carnets*, 61.

□□□□□□□□□□□□*Mémoires*, 59–64; *Parle*, 49.

□□□□□□□□Hanotaux, IX, 39; *Carnets*, 55.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Marcellin, 41.

“□□□□□□□□”□Hirschauer, 142.

□□□□□□□□□□□Lanrezac, 254–56.

“□□□□□”□qtd. Edmonds, 283; Germans are “over-hasty”: Huguet, 70.

□□9□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*AF*, I, II, 829 and Annexes Nos. 1967 and 1993. Order for reinforcements to be taken from Ist and IInd Armies is Annexe No. 1975.

□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□*Mémoires*, 79; *Parle*, 50.

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□□□□□□□□□Pierrefeu, *Plutarque*, 102–3.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Hirschauer, 180.

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“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Clergerie, 127.

□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□*Mémoires*, 75, 76.

“40□□□”□qtd. Hanotaux, VIII, 222; German prisoners taken asleep: Briey, March 28, evidence of Messimy; “tomorrow or the day after”: qtd. Maurice, 152.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid.*, 153.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kluck, 102.

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“□□□□□□”□qtd. Hanotaux, VIII, 223; “No cooked food”: *ibid.*, 276; “Broiling heat”: *ibid.*, 279.

“□□□□□□”□“□□□□”□Kuhl, 29; Kluck, 102.

□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□Annexe No. 2152.

“□□□□□□□□□□□”□Muller, 80.

□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□Joffre, 236–7.

“□□□□.....”□Grouard, 114. As Hausen acknowledged: in *Revue Militaire Suisse*, Nov. 11, 1919, qtd. Engerand, *Bataille*, xxi.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Allard, 15.

□□□□□□□·□□□□□Grasset, 41; Joffre, 237.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lanrezac, 276–7; Joffre, 237–8; Muller, 104–5; Spears, 377–78. In his lively account Spears says the conversation between the two generals took place outdoors as they walked “up and down the courtyard whilst I

watched with fascinated interest.” Although this obliging arrangement allowed Spears to write as an eyewitness, it does not fit with the probabilities, for Joffre would hardly have chosen to conduct what was to him the most distressing operation of the war so far, in full view of spectators. In fact he did not. “Lanrezac was in his office. I went in there and remained alone with him,” he says specifically.

□□□·□□□□□Grasset, *passim;* Spears, 398.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Grasset, 45. The phrase he used was *“Marcher ou crever.”*

9□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Gallieni Parle*, 53; Blücher, 23; in Brussels people felt a chill: Gibson, 191.

□□□“□□□□□□□35□”□Helfferich, *Der Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1919, Vol. II. 279.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□qtd. Hanotaux, VIII, 279.

□□□□□□□□Kuhl, 19.

“□□□□□□□□□”□Crown Prince, *War Experiences*, 69.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Helfferich, *op. cit.*, 17–18.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tappen, 115.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*ibid*.

□□9□4□□□□□full text, Edmonds, 290–91.

□□□□□□□□□from Zwehl's life of Falkenhayn, qtd. *AQ*, April 1926, 148.

□□□□9□4□□□□□□□□□□□*Mémoires*, 112.

“□□□□□”□□□□*ibid.*, 107.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□The fact of this call was disclosed by Poincaré after the war in an interview with *Le Matin*, Sept. 6, 1920.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*Gallieni Parle*, 53.

□□□□□□□□□□Muller. “I have always disliked using the telephone myself,” Joffre, 250.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Mémoires*, 119; Joffre, 245.

□□□□□□□□□□□Muller, 85–6; Joffre, 243–4; Mayer, 41.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Muller, 87.

□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□*ibid.*, 91–2; *AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 2327.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Mémoires*, 121–4; *Parle*, 55; Clergerie, 16.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Grasset, 51–53; Spears, 400–01; Wilson, 174.

□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 249.

□□□□□□□□full text in Edmonds, 279.

□□□□□□□Grasset, 74.

“□□□□”□□□□□□□Joffre, 250.

□□□□□“□□□□□□”□Wilson, 174.

“□□□□□□”□Gallieni, *Mémoires*, 128.

□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□Joffre, 252.

□□□□□□□□□□□□*Mémoires*, 130; Joffre agreed “unwillingly” and “as Gallieni desired”: Joffre, 251.

□□□□□□*AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 2332.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 252.

□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Kluck, 106. “Regain freedom of maneuver”: *ibid*.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kluck, 107; report of Commander of IVth Reserve: *ibid.*, 108; Kuhl, “Neither OHL nor the First Army”: qtd. Edmonds, 292, n. 2.

□□□□□“□□□□”□*Gallieni Parle*, 57, n 1. His orders for destruction: *AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 2494; “A void”: Hirschauer, 228.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□*Gallieni Parle*, 64; “That is worth gold”: *Carnets*, 78, n. 3. (To the present author it seems unnecessary to ascribe all credit for the Marne either to Gallieni as, for example, Captain Liddell-Hart does in *Reputations Ten Years After*, at the cost of making Joffre out a fool, or to Joffre as General Spears

does at the cost of making Gallieni out a liar. As Poincaré said long ago, there was credit enough for both.)

□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□Joffre, 252; his telegram to Millerand: *AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 2468.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Wilson, 174. Huguet, de Galbert and British “lukewarm”: Joffre, 253; Mayor of Melun: Hirschauer, 179.

“□□□□□□”□Joffre, 252.

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joffre, 254; Muller, 106; Wilson, 174; Spears, 415–18. The phrase “Threw his heart on the table” is Muller's, as is the description of Huguet which reads in the original, *“qui semble, à son habitude, porter le diable en terre.”* (Unfamiliar to most French friends queried, this phrase was variously translated for me as meaning that Huguet looked satanic, bored, or gloomy. I have adopted the last as proposed by the only person who seemed certain.)

Spears, in his vivid and dramatic account of the meeting, performs another historical sleight of hand. Unwilling to give the reader an impression of British reluctance to fight, he claims that Joffre made the trip to Melun—a six-to-seven-hour round trip by car just before the crucial battle—in order to “thank” Sir John French for his cooperation. Inexplicably, Spears then quotes Joffre as saying, “with an appeal so intense as to be irresistible, ‘*Monsieur le Maréchal, c'est la France qui vous supplie.*’” This does not sound compatible with thanks.

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Poincaré, III, 136.

□□9□6□□□□□□□*AF*, I, II, Annexe No. 2641.

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□□□□ Battle of the Frontiers

□ Pau

□□□ Bordeaux

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□□□□ Portland

□□□□□ Potovsky

□□ Burke

□□□·□□□ Berkeley Milne

□□□□ Birkenhead

□□□□□□□□ Charles the Bold of Burgundy

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“□□□□”□ Bogadir

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“□□”□ Indefatigable

“□□”□ Inflexible

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□□□□ Louis Blériot

“□□□□”□ Breslau

□□□·□□□□ Brand Whitlock

□□□ Georges Ernest Boulanger

□□ Bray

□□□□ Brécard

□□□ Briey

□□□□ Brienne-le-Château

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C

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□□□□ Alfred Dreyfus

□□□ Sir Francis Drake

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□□ Dupont

□□□ Doumergue

□□□□ Tsushima

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E

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□□□□□□ Philippeville

□□□□□ Archduke Franz Ferdinand

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□□□·□□ Ferdinand Foch

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□□□□ Feldmann

□□□□·□□ Felix Fivet

□□□ Fichte

□·□□□ von Emmich

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□□□□□ Flanders

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□□□□□·□□□□□□□ Vladimir Alexandrovich

□□□□□ M. Flechet

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□□□□□ Frögenau

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□□□□□·□□□ Frederick Maurice

□□□□□□□□□□ King Frederic of Denmark

□□□□□·□·□□□□ Friedrich von Bernhardi

□□□□ Fushimi

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H

□□□□□□□ King Haakon of Norway

□□·□□ Harry Hansen

□□□ Harwich

□□ Haelen

□□□ Harnack

□□ Haifa

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□□□ Hanover

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□□□□ Henrietta

□□·□□□□□ Henri Brialmont

□□·□□□—□□□ Henry Campbell-Bannerman

□□·□□□ Henry Morgenthau

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□□□ Hornby

□□□□ Hochberg

□□□□ Hohenzollern

□□□·□□ Howard Kelly

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□□□□ Horatius

J

J-B. □□□·□□□ J-B. Elysée Pommier

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□□□ Kitchener

□□□ Joseph Rudyard Kipling

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□□□□ Gascony

□·□□ Jane Fonda

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□□□ Gerard

□□□ Jellicoe

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□□□ Jessica

□□□□ Kimberley

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□□□ Cromer

□□□ Clovis

□□□ Kersten

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□□—□□□□ Lévy-Mirepois

□□ Wright

□□□□ Reinbot

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□□ Rheims

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□□□□ Lanrezac

□□·□□ Lloyd George

□□□ David Herbert Lawrence

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□□ Mangin

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□□□ Neufchâteau

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□□·□□□ Norman Angell

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□□ George

□□·□□ Georges Bouillot

□□·□□□ George Clarke

□□□□ King George of the Hellenes

□□□ Czernin

R

R. E. B. □□ R. E. B. Coombe

□·□□□ Jean Barbier

□·□□□ Jean Jaurès

□□□·□□ Germain Foch

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□□□□□□ Sevastopol

□□□·□□□ Cecil Scott

□□□·□□□—□□ Cecil Spring-Rice

□□ Seilles

□□□ Sézanne

□□□ Trois Vierges

□□ Sembat

□□□ Senlis

□□ Sedan

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□□□□□ Trouée de Charmes

□□□□ Charleroi

□□□ Chantilly

□□□□—□□□□□□□ Schoenburg-Waldenburg

“□□□□□” élan vital

□□□□□ Saint-Avold

□□□□□□ Church of St. Pierre

□□□□ Rue Sainte-Foi

□□□□□ Forest of St. Gobain

□□ St. Gond

□□□□□ St. Helena

□□□ St. Quentin

□□□□ St. Nazaire

□□□□□□ Ste. Geneviève

□□□□□ Richard the Lionhearted

□□□ von Schlieffen

□□□ Schneider

□□□□□ Stalluponen

□□□ Stumm

□□□□□—□□□□□ Schleswig-Holstein

□□□ Smyrna

“□□□□” offensive à outrance

□□□ Scholtz

□□□·□□□ Stephen McKenna

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□□□ Stenay

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□□□□ Stolypin

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□□□ Sudermann

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□□□□ Heinrich Gotthard von Treitschke

□□□ Trier

□□□□ Tenedos

□□□□ Denusa

□□□□ Tipperary

□□□□ Timbuktu

□□□□□□□□ Committee of Union and Progress

□□ Toul

□□□□ M. Touron

□□□□□□□ Toison d'Or

□□□□ fin de siècle

□□□·□ Thomas Mann

W

□□□ Waldersee

□□□□—□□□□ Waldeck-Pyrmont

□□□□□ Quai de Valmy

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□□□·□□□□□ Vasilii Fedorovitch□□□□

□□□ Oise

□□□□□ Uncle Vanya

□□□□ Wangenhaim

“□□□”□ Weymouth

□□·□□ Will Irwin

□□□ Herbert George Wells

□□·L. □□□ William L. Shirer

□□·□□□ William Robertson□□“□□”·□□□□“Wully” Robertson□

□□·□□ Wilhelm Souchon

□□□□ William Ⅱ

□□□ Arthur Wellesley Wellington

□□□□ Vilna

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□□□□□ Villers-Cotterets

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□□□·□□□ Winston Churchill

□□□□□ Winterfeld

□□□ Onhaye

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□□·□□ Charles Péguy

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□□ Champagne

□□□ George Bernard Shaw

□□□·□□□ Henry Morgenthau Jr.

□□—□□ Cherche-Midi

□□ Pont Neuf

□□□ Paul von Beneckendorff und Hindenburg□□□·□·□□□□□ ·□□□

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□□□□□□□ Queen Alexandra

□□ Amiens

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[MIRROR]

八月炮火

THE GUNS OF AUGUST

巴巴拉·塔奇曼作品 01

《八月炮火》推出后立即洛阳纸贵，空前成功，书评争相推介，口碑迅速传开，吸引了成千上万的读者一睹为快。肯尼迪总统特别订了一本送给当时的英国首相麦克米伦，他的阅读心得是：当代政治家必须尽可能避免陷入 1914 年 8 月大战的陷阱。普利策奖捐款人已立下规章禁止颁发历史类奖项给主题与美国无关的著作，但是委员会还是找到名目，颁给作者塔奇曼“非虚构类奖”。《八月炮火》让作者一举成名，她的作品深入人心且文笔流畅优雅，但是大部分的读者只需要知道这本新书的作者是“巴巴拉·塔奇曼”这块金字招牌。

——罗伯特·马西［历史学者，凭《彼得大帝》获普利策奖］

在大战（一战）爆发前夕，欧洲国家绝大多数的知识分子、金融家与企业主，都没有意识到他们与即将爆发的巨大危机只有一尺之隔，他们对于政治领袖与军事谋略家加诸自己的战争浩劫风险浑然不觉。《八月炮火》一书点出了许多让人深思的历史吊诡与荒谬。一批深谙治国之术与权力均衡游戏的统治菁英，他们机关算尽，最后却无法避免让自己成为历史悲剧中的主角；他们精心布置的军事盟约与政治承诺，最后却成为冲突升高过程中的重力加速器。

——朱云汉［“中研院”院士，台湾大学政治系教授，美国政治学会理事］

只要具有足够的艺术性，专业历史题材作品也可以达到文学的高度。这部著作极佳地阐释了这一点。

——《纽约时报》

一部精彩的军事史，她笔下的一战首月，其精彩程度正如丘吉尔所说，“戏剧也无法企及”。

——《新闻周刊》

上架建议：世界历史，一战经典

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